hunts by chasing the bear into a trap set with spring bows. This custom also applied to fishing and in Kondō Juzo's *Sō Ezochi Go Yōgai no gi ni tsuki Kokoro e Sōrō Omomuki Moshiage Sōrō Kakitsuki* [*SECG*] [An Investigation of the Strategic Importance of the Ezo Area as a Frontier] he refers to salmon fishing in Ishikari as follows, "During the winter the Ezo make fishing nets with their hands, organize a band and fish in rivers and at the shore."[28] The Pannakuro area along the Ishikari River was the common fishing ground for the upper river or Yūbari Ainu and the lower river or Yaushipa Ainu.[29]

This mutual aid was seen in distribution and utilization as well as production. In the *Tokachi Shū Ryakusetsu* [Outline of the Tokachi Region] it says, "A country was like a district, a district like a village, a family . . . therefore in hunting and fishing they cooperated and they distributed to those unable to work." In the *Watarishima Hikki* [Watarishima notebook]:

There was no borrowing and lending. For shelter, they built their own houses, cutting down available trees and grasses and the whole village rendered aid. For clothes, they stripped trees of bark, weaving them into bark cloth which they wore. Food they obtained by themselves. It has been said that there are no Ezo who die of starvation but if any do the wealthy and poor perish together after the rich have exhausted their resources in supporting the poor. In daily life not even a glass of wine is enjoyed alone. They dined together and shared what they had to eat with everyone at the table. When there was very little food it was given to the old or to the children. For the old and feeble or those seriously ill who had no one to look after them food was carried to them at each meal. Whenever there was successful catch in the hunt or from fishing all friends and relatives were invited for a treat as we do.

From the *Ezo Miyage*[27] [Souvenirs of Ezo]:

A surplus of food was always shared with others, no matter how small the amount. Women, when gathering for a smoke share the pipe with three to four persons. After one took a puff it was passed on to the next. When wine was drunk it was shared with all those present.

According to Shiikutoyotarek of Yūrabu every one of the villages went out to fish during the salmon season and distributed their catch among all and when someone killed a bear he would summon his village folk from a long distance around and they, meeting him and presenting him with homemade millet cakes, would be given a share of the meat. The meat to be distributed was cooked and the people went to the home of the hunter with receptacles for their share. However, the portion of meat given might differ according to the

[28] *Kondō Seisai Zenshū* (Complete works of Kondō Morishige), 1: 36.

[29] Nagata Hōsei, *Hokkaidō Ezogo Chimei Kai* (An analysis of Hokkaidō Ezo place names), 75, and Takakura Shinichirō, Nototorio danwa Kikigaki (Transcript of talks with Nototorio), *Hokkaidō Shakai Jigyō*, No. 37.

[27] Hiruka Kisei, *Ezo Fūzoku Iwa* (Collection of Ezo customs) 1: chap. 8.

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was termed *Kaihō*, a term indicative of the trade relations between the two parties. The *Ezo Sōshi* described this trade: "Kaihō meant 'trading' in that region.[e] Rice, sake, tobacco, and other goods were given them as gifts. Since these were gifts, the Ezo, in return, offered presents. Thus was the trade carried out." It was then a primitive sort of trade, the *Chigyōsho* giving gifts to the chief and the chief, from a sense of what was required, presenting the *Chigyōsho* with presents in return. Maki Tadaemon, a spy for the Tsugaru clan, reported on it as follows: "When three large barrels of sake were served to the nine chiefs who came on board, they were most pleased and, to express their gratitude to the Tsugaru *nishinu* (a noble personage or samurai from the mainland), they offered bear skins, storks and even three to five pieces of dried whale meat." In a report from a tax office at Akkeshi found in the *Kimura Shikyō Hikki* [Notebook of Kimura Shikyō], "In regard to *Kaihō* with the Ezo here, whether or not any goods were presented, they were always loaned a sho or two of rice." Now from the standpoint of the dignity of the *Chigyōsho* such a loan was treated as *Kaihō* although compensation was always anticipated. Here was a trade that had evolved from a formality to an economic transaction. The *Ezo Miyage* emphasizes this, "Among the various gifts tobacco was actually given away but the other items were produced one by one it being the custom to receive something in return for each. Yet it was ridiculous to calculate the price of goods given as presents since something was given in return." This form of trade was, no doubt, a continuation of the old form of trade at Tsugaru or Matsumae. The basic Matsumae-Ainu relationship was one of making profit by trade at bases most convenient for the assembling both of natives and of Japanese boats. Ezo territory was, in effect, a commercial colony of the Matsumae. It is not sufficient to view the Matsumae monopoly of the Ezo trade and its conduct directly by the clan chief or his retainers as wise only in the economic sense as far as the Matsumae were concerned. An additional benefit was the restriction of disputes which inevitably arose when irresponsible merchants were freely allowed to trade with the Ainu. This Matsumae policy is akin to the treaty policy in North America where boundaries were strictly drawn, mutual intercourse restricted, and the trade controlled by either the government or a few merchants. There the purpose was not only an increase in revenue but also a protective measure for the Indians against unjust traders.[11]

[e] *Kaihō* is a short form for *Kaihō Sukui Kōeki*—"trade for opening up and assisting." It was always used in reference to the Ainu trade because it was thought of partly as a commerce entered into for raising the native standards of living. The term *Kaihō* came to be used also as names for the local offices of trade and administration.

[11] Seligman and others, *Encyclopedia of the social sciences* 11: 262.

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III. THE REVOLT OF 1789

1. GROWTH OF THE *BASHO* CONTRACT SYSTEM AND THE CHANGE IN EZO ECONOMIC RELATIONS

The Japanese who came to have an advantageous position over the Ezo after the 1669 incident profited further by the great change in the Ezo industrial system brought about by this very incident. This was due to the growth of the *Basho* contract system for trade previously carried on by the clan or by *Chigyōnushi*, now passed into the hands of merchants called *Basho* contractors. The basis of the Matsumae economy lay in the Ezo-Japanese trade because, unlike other Japanese clans who could rely on agriculture, the Matsumae inhabited a land not suited for agriculture. The clans in Japan were dominated by farmers who had acquired control by force while in Matsumae territory it was the merchants who acquired power by force. But while the Matsumae merchants were superior to the local hunters and fishers in power and ability they were, in comparison with the mainland merchants, merely local small time traders. The mainland market where goods for the Ezo trade were bought and sold was dominated by the merchants of Central Japan. Thus the Matsumae were not go-betweens in the trade between the Ainu and the mainland markets, but just go-betweens in the trade between the Ainu and the mainland merchants. The relationship between the *Chigyōnushi* and the mainland merchants may have started as a commercial one in which goods were bought and sold for the Kyōto-Ōsaka regional market, but as the mainland merchants invested more capital in the trade and as the Central Japan traders began to operate branch offices in Hokkaidō, from the second quarter of the seventeenth century on, the Matsumae clan became dependent upon these merchants. The natives borrowed capital and a year's supply of food from these traders and paid off in whatever game they caught.[1] The *Chigyōnushi* did the same in that they borrowed from the merchants not only necessary capital for the Ezo trade but also the money needed for an entire year's operation and they repaid the merchants from what they earned in the native trade.[2] With the rise in the standard of living of the samurai plus the cunning of the mainland merchants, the *Chigyōnushi's* debts increased until the Ezo trade fell into the hands of these traders from Japan. Under the name of *Basho* contractors they paid a certain sum in taxes or money for the privilege

[1] "People from local areas were eager to borrow any amount of gold, silver, rice, salt, etc., to employ a crew and hire a boat. After the February equinox they would fish and the catch would be sent to the creditors, who, in a body, would price the hauls." *Tōyūki* (Record of a trip to the East).

[2] "Income from the land was not grain or fish but credit from the merchants with whom the price of land use had been set at 100 or 200 kin for a given area. No money changed hands but daily necessities were supplied by the merchants." *Chihoku Gūdan* (The northern allegory).

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trout, and other fish were sold not only as food but as fertilizer and shipped to the Kansai markets as oil cake.[30] Abalone had been dried into a product of a dark color with a slight value as merchandise. The contractors made these into dried white sea ear shell for export to Nagasaki.[31] New methods of preparing tangle were introduced into remote areas. These advancements in technique required large capital. The simple tools of the Ezo had been made by themselves or else rented from contractors for a share of the catch. But as the tools improved their manufacture passed beyond the ability of the Ezo, so the Japanese established shops under the supervision of mainlanders who used Ezo labor to make them. In addition, as the contractors expanded the area of their activities, they operated the new fishing grounds by themselves using Ainu labor. The entire expansion of the fishing industry was probably accelerated by two factors, the new market in the Kansai region for oil cake and the use of large nets. Inevitably there arose a change in the economic relationship between the Ezo and the Japanese. Hitherto the Ezo had worked independently of the contractors and had come to the post to trade only his surplus above what he needed for food and clothing. This meant a small scale trade which could only be surmounted by such devices as advancing loans to the natives so that when the Ezo paid for the loans out of their own produce they had also to repay the value of the goods.[32]

On the other hand, the contractors, with their improvements and regulations, made it possible greatly to increase the catch. (The dried sea cucumber trade in the Sōya area is an example of the advanced regulation of production.) During fishing season the Ezo in bands of thirty to fifty would come to the trade post with their chief. Borrowing such things as rice, sake, yeast, tobacco, and tools for taking sea cucumber they would go out fishing. With their boats loaded with sea cucumber they would return to the post where clerks would record the catch. This was to prevent pilfering before the catch was dried and delivered. After being checked in the Ezo would take the catch home, boil them, and skewer them either over a fire or out in the sun after which the sea cucumbers were taken back to the post. There Ezo women worked under foremen taking the sea cucumbers off the skewers and packing them for shipment. The Ezo also were used to load the boats.[33]

The trade between the contractors and the Ezo was not a mere trading process but a system of credit. No longer were the chiefs men of character but merely supervisors for the contractor. Small scale fishing could not be much improved by the use of nets but large scale fishing, i.e. salmon, trout, and herring, was operated by the contractors themselves who were no longer

[30] *Ibid.*, 403, 407.
[31] *Ibid.*, 410.
[32] See chap. 2, para. 3 and para. 4.
[33] *Igen Zakuwa* 1, on catching sea cucumbers.